

[SUPPLEMENT TO HOPE AND HOME, JAN. 30, 1892.]

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THE CONSTITUTION  
—OF THE—  
UNITED STATES.

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**A STUDY.**

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*The ballot as it is, misrepresents the people.*

*The ballot as it ought to be, would represent them.*

*Amendments proposed to the Constitution.*

BY ABBA LORD HOLTON.

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## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. A STUDY.

New occasions teach new duties ;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth ;  
They must upward still, and onward,  
Who would keep abreast of truth ;  
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires !  
We, ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly  
Through the desperate winter sea,  
Nor attempt the Future's portal  
With the Past's blood-rusted key.

—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

In every enlightened land, the people ought to make a study of the Constitution or principles by which they are ruled and governed. And in so doing, they will not only be able to discharge their duties the better as citizens, but they will help to arouse a healthy public spirit in the selection of the rulers and in the administration of public business.

History informs us that not until 1774 was there an independent movement made by the Colonies of North America, which subsequently became the United States. But the stirring events which followed from that time until July, 1776, prepared the world for the grandest of all Declarations of Independence. For the interests involved in humanity, for the sublime truths enunciated, it transcends anything ever accomplished by man. For it says :

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

Near the close of the year 1777, to make the unity of the several States more compact, the Continental Con-



gress adopted the Articles of Confederation; but deficiencies soon appearing, a call was then made for a convention to make amendments thereto; but they were neither revised nor amended. From what is historically known as to the proceedings of the conclave appointed to meet and make provisions to modify the *Articles of Confederation* we find that the fifth rule that was enacted to control its deliberations, and carried by a majority of eleven, reads as follows: "That nothing said or done in this convention shall be committed outside." Thus,

IN SECRET SESSION, WITH BARRED DOORS,

*all previous action of a national character was entirely ignored, and they went to work as if the United States had had no previous existence and they had met to give it birth and executive being.* Thus our national base as a republic was obliterated, and a Constitution which only assumes the name of a republic was made. All the power theoretically emanating from the people was vested in such a manner as to be beyond their control.

It mattered not that George Mason and Edmund Randolph, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and thirteen others of national repute, were untiring in their efforts to have the people elect the President of the U. S. No; their views were so far ignored as only to allow the people to vote for a set of men who meet afterwards and elect the President. And once it came to pass, through this process, that a Mr. Hayes sat for a whole term in the Presidential chair, when, in fact, Samuel J. Tilden was not only the choice of the people by 157,037 more votes than his opponent, but he was, rightfully and in fact, the choice also of the Electoral College.

The *Century* magazine in its "Topics of the Times," says:



"No student of our system for the election of President and Vice-President can fail to be impressed with its lax and antiquated character. In fact, from the earliest period of our government we have gone about this most important of all our elections in a happy-go-lucky style which has brought us serious complications."

The powers and prerogatives of the President are enormous and far-reaching. He appoints the Judges of the Supreme and other Federal Courts, the latter holding sessions and exercising jurisdiction in every State and Territory. The military and naval departments are completely under his jurisdiction. He, too (directly, or through his appointees) controls the employees of the internal revenue, customs and postal services—a host of appointees that are in number as a great army. We have not had, so far, a Balmaceda, who used for his own aggrandizement the power he had in Republican Chile. But *we have had as bad* in a Buchanan, who appointed his minions to office, and quietly and treasonably let them despoil our country, so that brother was arrayed against brother, and our land deluged with the blood of martyrs, to wipe out the stain of a bad President's acts, stop the awful crime of human slavery, and obliterate the clause that made slavery possible in the very Constitution they died to defend.

The vast powers conferred by the Constitution upon the President have made that office the object of most eager and determined pursuit. It has arrayed the people into two great parties, like armies, that are drilled as armies, and act as great machines to elevate to and keep in power a certain class, while the liberty, happiness and well-being of the nation are ignored to a destructive extent.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

foretold what would happen to us if we encouraged party and party issues. He said:



"I have already intimated the danger of parties in the State. \* \* \* They serve always to distract the public councils and enfeeble public administration.\* They agitate the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindle the animosities of one party against the other, foment occasionally riot and insurrection.† It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of our country are subject to the policy and will of another."‡

The history of the Federal judiciary system—because the appointments rest with the President, and are for life, and not with the people, for a certain period—is one of injustice, cruelty, tyranny and usurpation. Fraud, crime and oppression, in a legal way, are the sign-posts all along the course of its existence. To prove this, we need only refer to the Dred Scott and Mussel Slough decisions.

The only reason that so monstrous a system as our Federal judiciary is suffered to exist is that the force of custom and education has hypnotized the minds of the people, the learned as well as unlearned, to reverence antiquity, venerate the institutions of the past, and bow, meekly and unquestioningly, to their authority, regardless of reason and experience, instead of being guided by such inspired men as Lowell, who so nobly has said :

"New occasions teach new duties;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward still, and onward,  
Who would keep abreast of truth."

## II.

### Why the People are Powerless—Processes Analyzed.

While we claim no greater right or better light to criticise the great Magna Charta of our liberties than any

\*The history of every election is one of perjury, riot and bloodshed.

†The secession of the South was brought about by our bad ballot system in the election of our President and Congressmen.

‡Our present banking system is dictated by the bankers of London, Paris and Berlin, our people and their wishes being entirely ignored.



other person, leisure moments, that are "the gold dust of time," have come to us, and all are not so blessed; so we take advantage of them to make *this study*, feeling that the grave question of "human rights" can be better understood by our readers if they once understand, more fully, the laws by which they are governed. Revolutions by the sword and by the ballot (as it is) have swept our land since the Pilgrim Fathers first trod the New England shore, which have upheaved all our social and political life from their uttermost depths. Who can doubt that more than once in that time the champions of justice—we only need to name Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison—have gathered for an attack on the champions of order? Right now, Henry George and the Nationalists, from different standpoints, are leading the vanguard of liberty, and by persistent effort and passionate onset, they will be heard; but not until our present ballot system is changed, can they ever win the *triumph* that justice demands, excepting the battle is fought by bullets instead of ballots; and it is this awful crime that we would avert.

But we as a nation are not theorists. "Dreams we have of an ordained becoming;" not the dreams of the enthusiast and visionary, but those that have been worked out by the endorsement of history and the result of an intense belief in law and order; so that we make this study for our people to ascertain the mistakes under which we live, and apply, if possible, the remedy.

In the Constitution there appears (1) the executive; (2) the judicial; and (3) the law-making or

#### LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS,

which "shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives," the former to be "composed of two Senators from



each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof," so that each State, *regardless of its size or population*, has two members in that body. The House is "composed of members chosen every second year *by the people* of the several States," apportioned "according to their respective numbers." Let us consider first the provision for equal representation of States in the Senate. Does any one for a moment hold that the States of Nevada, Idaho, the Dakotas, Wyoming, or even California, ought to have two men in the Senate with as much power to vote, move, push or tangle the threads of legislation as the Senators from the far more populous States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois? Look at this difference in population, and remember that if a really wicked man should be elected to—we mean, should buy—a seat in the Senate, he holds that mighty power to conspire against, to defeat and to usurp the liberties of the whole nation, no matter how few may be his constituents; they need be only his money bags and his hirelings, as the Senate is neither by the people nor for the people.

But the greatest farce is in the manner of their choice. In order to bring about the election of a U. S. Senator, the wheels of a State election must be put in motion to elect a set of men to the Legislature to

#### CHOOSE THE SENATORS.

There are always parties, and it is rarely that one exceeds the other by more than ten to nine; and the number who stay away from the polls is never less than one in four, and often one in three, who might vote if they chose. Consequently, the members of a legislative body are seldom even voted for by one-third of their constit-



uency, not taking into consideration all the women adults that have to abide by laws made in this manner.

But does even this third that vote for the members really want them? Not at all. They vote for one of two tickets, because they are made to *believe* that the one *they* vote for is not quite as bad as the other.

But neither the half of a constituency, nor a majority of that half, has anything to do with the nominating conventions. The *Century* magazine says, in an article on "Ballot Reform":

"We have talked for years about reforming the primaries and the nominating conventions, but not one particle of progress is made. Political workers have the power to make 'deals' and 'dickers,' which cheat the people of their will."

Coming back to figures, we see that, judging by the actual vote, the candidates only represent, where there are two parties, one-third of the voters. Of this third, one-third of them want others, in the party or out of it, to represent them, or, perhaps, are not in sympathy with the party for whose candidates they vote; or, perhaps, the platform of the party being "*sound*"—which means, as Webster defines it, "a noise without signification"—they want another kind of a platform. But if they voted for any others than those nominated, their vote would not count; and demagogues have beaten it into the brain of people that it is better to vote for candidates you dislike or mistrust, so the vote will count, than for those in whom you have entire confidence, but who, it is supposed, could not be elected.

Thus a legislative body chosen, as the *Century* puts it, by "*deals* and *dickers*," falsely purporting to represent the people, will be found, after the operation is closely analyzed in all its stages, to represent not a fiftieth of its nominal constituency.



## THE SCALE TURNED BY A BREATH.

Furthermore, the political complexion, as well as the individual components, of a State Legislature or of Congress, is determined, under this division into district "slave pens," not by any "tidal waves," "sweeping revulsions of opinion," or other imaginative processes, but depends on the swerving of a very few voters (who may be the very dregs of the community) in closely balanced districts. For instance: in the California election of 1890 72 men could have changed the result in 5 districts, as follows: 2 votes in the 78th District, 7 in the 68th, 19 in the 45th, and 22 each in the 6th and 11th Districts. And under such minority rule, our orators exclaim to the people, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians! Great is our republic, with its *majority rule!*" And the people swallow the demonstrable falsehood as fish swallow bait.

When it becomes thus requisite for success to use every means to secure the votes of the most ignorant, unstable, worthless or criminal in a community, it is clear that, as a rule, honest and capable men cannot afford to become candidates for public service.

## GERRYMANDERS EXEMPLIFIED.

Secretary Foster thus exhibits their working from a Republican standpoint:

In the Northern States, wherever the Democrats have attained control, they have enacted into law a systematic and atrocious method of gerrymandering. In Indiana, where the State is close, they have so gerrymandered the Congressional districts as to give the Republicans three out of thirteen, and so gerrymandered the Legislative districts as to require at least 25,000 Republican majority in the State in order to give the Republicans a majority in the Legislature. In Wisconsin and West Virginia precisely the same method has also been adopted, and the Democrats boast that we can get not more than two members of Congress in West Virginia, and that the Republicans must have at least 20,000 majority in each of those States to give them a majority in the General Assembly. In Michigan they have gone further. They have not only gerrymandered in the same way for members of Congress and for the Legislature, but they have also provided for the election of Presidential Electors by Congressional districts. In this State (Ohio), which



is Republican, they have gerrymandered the Congressional districts so as to give us but six out of twenty-one.

And now comes the *Boston Globe*, on the other side, showing how each party, by means of the district system, steals the rights of the people, as opportunity may serve.

And, while we are on the subject, we propose to bring it nearer home, and show up the outrageous gerrymandering that exists "right here in New England"—right here in Massachusetts. In this county of Suffolk, at the last election, 30,340 Democratic and 23,850 Republican votes were cast; yet the county is represented in the State Senate by five Republicans and only four Democrats. That is to say, it took 7,585 votes to elect a Democratic Senator, but only 4,471 to elect a Republican. The fair proportional representation in the Senate, based on the actual vote, would have been 21 Republicans and 19 Democrats. Instead of that we have 29 Republicans and 11 Democrats. In the House of Representatives it is still worse. The fair proportional representation would have been 125 Republicans and 115 Democrats. In the last Congressional elections in this State 178,811 Republicans elected 10 Congressmen, while 150,917 Democrats elected only 2. That is to say, it requires in this State 75,458 votes, on the average, to elect a Democrat to Congress, but only 17,881 to elect a Republican.

Our soul turns sick when we face these awful facts that men are being led blindly to believe that they live in a republic, when the truth is they live under a constitution that makes them slaves, to be driven to the polls and made to put their ballots in a box "by a power they know not of, and by a force they do not understand." And not until they study this great question, realize its transcendent importance and demand a change in the Constitution that allows proportional representation, can they be free and enjoy a really republican form of government.

### III.

#### Signs of the Great Unrest—Neuchatel Leads the Van.

In the year 1772 Thomas Paine wrote these immortal words: "These are the times that try men's souls." And



we can write to-day in 1892: These are the times in which souls are born to realize:

"New occasions teach new duties;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth.

Nor attempt the Future's portal  
With the Past's blood-rusted key."

As if to echo the great unrest, the awakening that is passing over our thinking public, the rulers of the people are lifting up their voice to bring about a reform. Senator Dolph, of Oregon, was the first to introduce a bill in the Senate for an amendment to the Constitution to elect U. S. Senators by the people; and his State has memorialized Congress to take such action as will enable it to become a law. "The brightest minds" in the Senate and House have now taken hold of this proposition; and the *Examiner's* Washington correspondent, in its issue of Jan. 16th, 1892, says that "it seems to be the popular thought among our law-makers this winter." Indiana's State Legislature and its State Grange have also memorialized Congress in favor of its enactment. U. S. Senator Turpie, of that State, nobly champions it in the Senate. He says:

"This would cause the character of the people to be transposed more perfectly in the modes of government. This would cause the needs, wants, aims, and aspirations of the masses of men in our free communities to be more faithfully reflected, more clearly imaged forth in the laws of the country and their administration, by an increase of direct popular representation in the National Legislature."

Governor Flower, of New York, advocates, in his message to the Legislature, the passage of a bill providing that all contested seats in their body be tried and adjudged by the judiciary. The Governor of Massachusetts has asked in his message to the Legislature that a bill be passed providing "that after every election every candidate for office shall make a sworn statement of what moneys he has received and expended in the election,



and give thereof an itemized account." But the crowning of these forward signal posts came when President Benjamin Harrison closed his annual message to Congress in December, 1891, in the following words :

#### UNTRAMMELED ELECTIONS.

Nothing just now is more important than to provide every guaranty for the *absolutely fair and free choice by an equal suffrage* with the respective States, of all the officers of the National Government, whether that suffrage is applied directly, as in choice of the members of the House of Representatives, or indirectly, as in choice of members of the Senate and the electors of President.

If I were called upon to declare wherein our chief national danger lies, I should say without hesitation in the overthrow of majority control by the suppression or perversion of the popular suffrage.

#### REAL DANGER HERE.

That there is a real danger here, all must agree, but the energies of those who see it have been chiefly expended in trying to fix the responsibility upon the opposite party rather than in efforts to make such practices impossible by either party.

#### THE INQUITOUS GERRYMANDER.

Is it not possible now to adjourn the interminable and inconclusive debate while we take by consent one step in the direction of reform by eliminating the gerrymander, which has been denounced by all parties as an influence in the election of Electors of President and of members of Congress?

#### CONGRESS SHOULD TAKE COGNIZANCE.

I have alluded to the gerrymander as affecting the selection of electors of the President by Congressional districts, but the primary intent and effect of this form of political robbery have relation to the selection of members of the House of Representatives. The power of Congress is ample to deal with this threatening and intolerable abuse. The unfailing test of insincerity in election reform will be found in an unwillingness to confer as to remedies and to put in force such measures as will most effectually preserve the right of the people to free and equal representation.

#### AN ELECTION COMMISSION.

I believe it would be possible to constitute an election commission, non-partisan in its membership, and composed of patriotic, wise, and impartial men, to whom a consideration of the question of the evils connected with our election system and methods might be committed with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for relieving or mitigating these evils.

The consideration of these grave questions invites not only the attention of Congress, but that of all patriotic citizens. We must not entertain the delusion that our people have ceased to regard a free ballot and equal representation as the price of their allegiance to the laws and civil magistrates.

A trust, momentous in its influence upon our people and upon the world for a brief time, is to be committed to us, and we must not be faithless to



its conditions—defence of the free and the equal influence of the people in the choice of public officers and in the control of public affairs.

Executive Mansion, Dec. 9, 1891.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

#### PROPOSED PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

These are *grave and momentous words*, uttered at a fitting time by our President, that usher in the Centennial of the Columbian epoch. Now let us see to it that the Commission he has asked for, to consider plans to improve our ballot system, be appointed—neither by Congress nor by the Judiciary, but by the ballots of the several States. Let every citizen of every State—including members of the Farmers' Alliance, Citizens' Alliance, Knights of Labor and Federated Trades, aye, in all walks of life—hasten to sign a petition to Congress to provide by law for the choosing, by the citizens of each State, by ballot, of three citizens thereof, each voter having three votes, which he may apportion as he sees fit; that is, he may cast three votes for one candidate, or two for one and one for another, or one each for three candidates; these State Commissioners to meet in convention at such time and place as Congress may direct. Such a Commission would truly be "non-partisan in its membership," and composed, as Mr. Harrison seems to desire, of "patriotic, wise and impartial men," *to whom a consideration of the question of the evils connected with our elective system and methods might be committed with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for mitigating and relieving these evils.*"

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The Thirteen Confederate Colonies of America led the world in the race for liberty one hundred and fifteen years ago, when they gave to the people the Constitution, amended eleven times by their representatives in the Confederate Congress before its final adoption by all of



them as a garment fitted to serve their purpose. Now if we glance with our mind's eye over the earth's histories during this interval of more than a hundred years, we behold that amid the tottering thrones of Europe, constitutional governments have arisen on every hand. Germany has secured a constitution and an elective Reichstag, Austria following with her Bundesrath, whose members are elected by the pure Australian ballot system; Norway and Sweden, united in a constitutional form, with a joint Assembly; Denmark, Holland, Italy and Spain joining in with their written laws and their mildest of mildest of monarchies; France, arising thrice amid the smoke and carnage of battle to become a bright light in the firmament of republics; Belgium leading year by year into greater freedom, giving last year the ballot to 300,000 more of her people; Great Britain, who has her Magna Charta, from which we have taken one of the fifteen Amendments to our Constitution—that "every man's house is his castle, which shall not be invaded or searched without due process of law." And the Parliaments of this parent land have made such strides on the way to justice and liberty that her great cities, such as Glasgow and Birmingham, have become paradises of the working classes, with their ownership of street railways and cheap fares, boarding houses, wash and bath houses, street lighting, numerous public parks and libraries, and almost perfect sanitary and hospital arrangements.

#### SWITZERLAND,

smallest and now by far the foremost of republics, impatient of imperfection and injustice, is continually preparing to take other steps forward. In 1848 a new Constitution was adopted. In 1874 the Referendum was made



applicable to the enactments of the Federal or national Legislature. Under it, on request of 30,000 voters, any such enactment must be submitted directly to the whole body of voters for ratification or rejection. If the ayes are in the majority, it becomes a law; otherwise not. Varied as to details and more or less limited or restricted in its application, the Referendum has long been applied in a few of the Cantons (which are politically equivalent to our "States"), and has recently been made operative in nearly all.

So marked were the beneficial effects of the Referendum, that a demand arose for the application of the same principle and method to the *initiation* of laws, and the process is therefore denominated the *Initiative*. It was soon adopted by some of the more progressive Cantons, and in 1891 was made applicable to Federal legislation.

In 1864 a few advanced thinkers learned that justice and true democracy required that the *whole* body of voters, and not merely a large or fraction thereof, should be represented in the legislatures. A society was then formed, the members of which have been ever since vigorously agitating for proportional representation, or "effective voting." Among the Cantons which have the Initiative is Neuchatel, where advantage has been taken of that process to introduce a proposition for proportional representation. And, as we go to press, comes rushing across an ocean and a continent a letter from Sir John Lubbock (the world-famous naturalist and political scientist) bearing the glad tidings that proportional representation has been adopted in Neuchatel, which has thus placed herself far in the van of true civilization.



## Figures, Facts and — Remedies.

## IV.

But what has been our work as a nation in the battle of progress during this time? We have forgotten the liberties of our people and forged ahead only in conquering a physical world by piling up great wealth, building huge cities reeking with crime, spanning the continent with the iron horse, enchaining the lightning to our will, making dumb metal bring men, that time and space divide face to face in converse. Only once have we stopped in this mad race, when Mammon led under our constitutional garb the hearts of some to begin a cruel war. Then we fought—fought until a million of men died, millions more of hearts and homes were ruined; and out of the debris of that great strife, "an *Amendment was made* to the Constitution that lifted 4,000,000 black men out of one slavery, to be thrown into the abyss of another," in which our white men dwell.

ada offers refuge.

These are grave and serious words; but history will bear us out in claiming that our revolutionary fathers fought to be represented in the legislatures that made the laws that governed them, because it *was slavery* to be forced to obey laws which they had no voice in making.

Now we assert that our national and State Constitutions disfranchise nearly every citizen, making it impossible for the true voice of the people to be heard in the councils of State or nation—impossible to carry out the very purpose for which our forefathers bled and died. The people do not elect even nominally, the President, nor the U. S. Senators, nor the Federal judges; and only in districts, which are but slave-pens, have they as much as the appearance of electing members of the House of



Representatives, out of all our national rulers. The majority vote of the people has never chosen a President since the days of Jackson. States—"things," placed "in the saddle" by the present process, elect the President, and "ride mankind." The Senators are chosen by darker processes—by "deals and dickers" that cheat the people every time. *The Judges grow by appointment*, answerable to no power but themselves; and, as the great civil war wiped out every decision made by them on *human rights* for fifty years preceding, we fear that another may have to come ere the people will be allowed to elect them by the "effective ballot."

#### THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

We will simply analyze the vote for our last Congressmen in California. They all are run in districts, and the voters are held in every State, as in this, in pens, and they *cannot, nor dare not*, vote for a candidate outside their own district, because it would be treated as a piece of waste paper. The First District, in the last election, cast 19,334 votes Democratic to 19,153 Republican; a change of 91 votes would have elected the other man. In the Second District 18,644 votes were cast Democratic to 18,585 Republican, and 914 for other parties; a change of 159 votes would have elected the Republican. The total vote of the State for Congressmen was 247,137, being an average of 41,189 votes for each Congressman. But on following the analysis closely, we find that a change of 2,040 votes, less than one per cent., would have given a majority of Congressmen to a minority party, while a further change of two per cent. would have given the whole State over to this party, a party that cast only 46.88 per cent. of the entire vote of the State.

The Massachusetts Congressmen misrepresent the



people so much that "178,811 Republican voters elected 10 Representatives, while 150,917 Democrats elected only 2. That is, it takes 75,458 votes, on an average, in that State to elect a Democrat to Congress, but only 17,881 to elect a Republican." In Indiana, which is very close as to these parties, the Congressional Districts are so gerrymandered that the Republicans have secured but 3 out of its 13 Congressmen, and the State legislative districts are in a condition even worse than this. In the Republican State of Ohio the districts are so doctored that the Democrats elect 15 out of 21. Wisconsin, which goes Republican at every Presidential election, and four times out of six in "off years," only secures two Congressmen out of six.

New York city has 100,000 Republican voters so gerrymandered in districts that they never have a Congressman and rarely a State legislator, Tammany ruling them as the British Parliament did the Thirteen Colonies—without representation. "In Hudson County, N. J., at the last election, 18,000 Democratic, 11,000 Republican and 1,000 scattering votes were cast; yet the delegation went to the Assembly 10 Democrats and 1 Republican," it taking 1,800 votes to elect a Democrat and 11,000 to elect a Republican from Hudson County to the State Legislature.

As to occupations, the disparity is even worse than in parties. While laborers are totally ignored (enslaved), the farmers (the food producers) are almost wholly so, while the lawyers, who live upon the sins of omission and commission of the people, have nearly all the "Representatives," therefore the ruling of the people, in their grasp, as shown by the following tabulation :



OCCUPATIONS.	NUMBERS.	REPRESENTATIVES.	RATIOS.
Laborers .....	5,000,000	0	0
Farmers .....	4,000,000	11	1 to 343,000.
Mechanics .....	4,000,000	16	1 to 250,000.
Professionals .....	2,900,000	24	1 to 120,000.
Distributors .....	1,800,000	39	1 to 46,000.
Lawyers .....	65,000	197	1 to 197.

In examining the working of the process followed in electing U. S. Senators, we find that it surpasses in gross unfairness that of electing "representatives."

#### CURRENT FALLACIES AND CONCLUSIVE FIGURES.

Representative Johnson, of North Dakota, who is vigorously urging the Amendment to elect U. S. Senators by popular vote, is reported as making, before the House Committee having the subject under advisement, the following statement:

"He was the Republican caucus nominee for United States Senator at the last Senatorial election in this State, but was defeated by a corrupt combination. He was approached by an attorney for a railway corporation and told that to make his election certain it was necessary that he give an assurance that *he would favor a certain man as judge of that district*. The attorney said the railway had secured the election of seven or eight members of the Legislature and controlled their votes. Johnson said that he did not consider it honorable to enter into any bargain of that sort, declined to give the assurance asked, and the result was that he was defeated. Yet at that time he was the acknowledged choice of the people of his State for United States Senator, as well as the choice of his party, and would have been elected but for the people's will being thwarted by corrupt corporate influence."

Ohio has a Wall street banker (Calvin S. Brice, of New York) and John Sherman as her Senators. It is an open secret, we believe, that money placed alien Brice in his seat, and the glitter of power and promised positions on the day for Sherman to misrepresent that State.

When the term of U. S. Senator Van Wyck, of Nebraska, was about to expire, he, at the ensuing election of State legislators, printed, at his own expense, tickets, so that the people could choose him or not at the election for United States Senator. He won by a large majority



of votes: but when the Legislature met, his name was dropped, and a rich cattle man was elected by the *misrepresentatives* of the people, to take the seat he had so ably filled.

We will now cite one more instance to exemplify one of the many stages of the process by which this nominal "government by the people" is whittled down into actual government by an insignificant fraction, and that mainly consisting of the worst elements in the community. We select the election of Senator Stanford by the Legislature of this State last spring—an example unusually favorable to the present system, as, while parties in legislatures as a rule do not differ more than five or ten per cent. as between the majority and minority party, in this case there was the enormous difference of over three to one. Stanford received 60 votes, and there were 97,939 votes cast for those 60 assemblymen. White received the votes of 18 Assemblymen, who were elected to that branch by an aggregate of 31,753 votes. Morgan received one vote, that member having received 1,108 votes. Another assemblyman, making up the 80 members, did not vote, who received 1,260 votes in his district. Inasmuch as the aggregate of all these votes is 132,060, and the total vote of the State for assemblymen was 248,423, it is clear that 116,363 voters are *utterly ignored* in that or any other proceeding of the Assembly. And again: deduct the 97,939 voters *measurably* represented by the 60 who voted for Stanford from the total vote of 248,423, and it is absolutely demonstrated that 150,484 voters of this State—over 62 per cent., or *nearly two-thirds*—are no more represented in the U. S. Senate than is "the man in the moon," although the successful candidate received *three-fourths* of the Assembly vote! Yet half of this non-representative national body, representing less than a fifth



of the voters of each State, as determined by only this first stage of analysis, can defeat any proposed law. This is irrespective of the large further deduction from this 19 per cent. warranted by the fact that States differing from each other in population, even as much as forty to one, are each represented by two U. S. Senators.

In the House recently, the subject under consideration being the election of U. S. Senators by the people, the following remarks are reported:

Powers (Vermont) asked if popular elections might not result in sending less able men to the Senate. Enloe (Tennessee) replied that it might possibly occur occasionally, as it sometimes did in all public elections, that men of inferior capacity might be chosen to the Senate; but the country would suffer less to have a fool in the Senate six years than a corrupt scoundrel.

That the brightest minds of the nation are agitating on this subject of a better representation, we hail with joy. Our Revolutionary sires gave us the Constitutional robe that fitted our youth, but which we have now outgrown. For this exigency, they provided, in Article V of the Constitution, two methods for the initiation and ratification of amendments thereto. Thereby the evils which now not only threaten, but almost entirely override, the liberties of the people can be remedied. In fact, we have no other recourse, if we wish to be free.

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- Amendment 3rd: That U. S. Senators be elected by popular vote.
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- Amendment 5th: That the Referendum and the Initiative become Federal laws.



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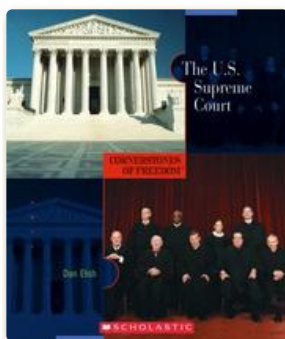
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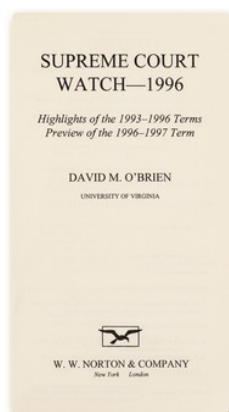
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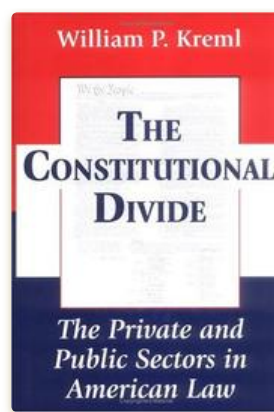
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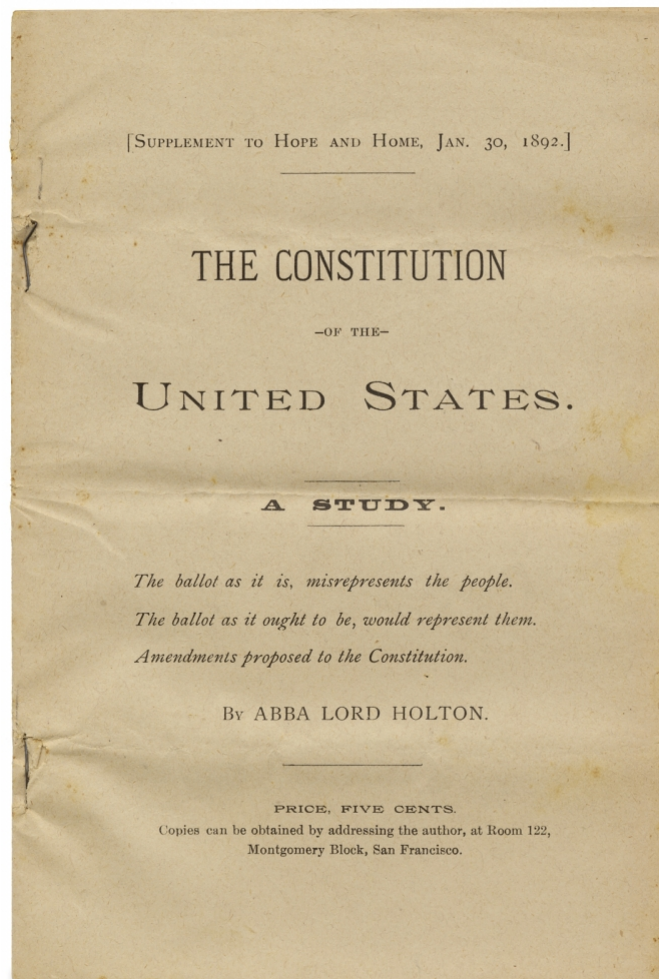


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Political tract advocating for proportional representation of U.S. citizens in Congress by a San Francisco suffragette and California reformer, Abba Lord Holton. She was the editor of *Hope and Home*, a periodical “devoted to proportional representation, as the only and efficient remedy for government evils.” (p[24])

Holton’s tract examines the history of U.S. Constitutional law, advocates for ballot reform, and proposes five amendments to the Constitution. These proposed amendments would allow for the direct popular election of the president, vice president, federal judges, and senators and ends gerrymandering by abolishing Congressional district lines within each state.

A contemporary newspaper notice of her reports: “[Holton] has written a monograph on the constitution of the United States, which is remarkable as the work of a woman. She regards her line of action as directly marked out for her by Providence, and thinks that women ought to study the Hare method of representation that they may demand it when suffrage is extended to them.”<sup>1</sup>

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**Description:** Abba Lord Holton. *[California Women Reformers:] [Supplement to Hope and Home, Jan. 30, 1892.] The Constitution of the United States. A Study.* [San Francisco: Hope and Home,



1892]. [24]pp. Pamphlet. 8¼ x 5½ inches. Printed self-wrappers; side stapled. Ads. Folds; some loosening to first leaf at staples; very good. [3729071]

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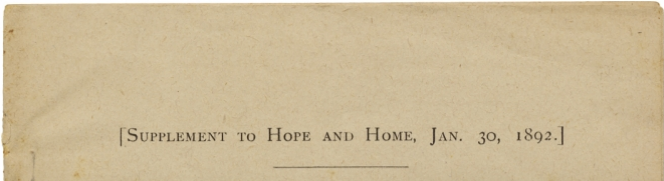
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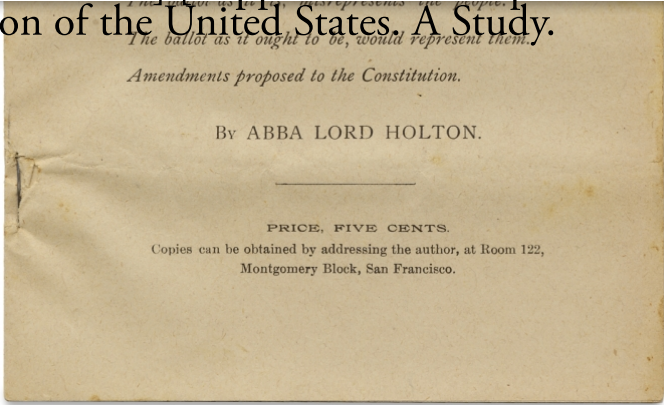
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